16: Müller--238-240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 796, 769 Tsuo

Among the Tso'o aborigines there are three festivals to propitiate beneficent spirits every year. The most important of these at the same time marks the time when the harvest of millet begins; it is held under the sacred tree [239] which is the habitat of the spirits. To prepare for this festival the women brew the wine made from millet with many ceremonies, using millet which they have chewed beforehand to ferment it. On the day of the festival the unmarried young men ring a bell and all the heads of families start out for the sacred tree. They carry a bunch of Calamus reeds [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] tied together with fiber; the Calamus must be grown under the sacred tree. When they have arrived at the tree, the village elder sacrifices a bamboo cup filled with wine made of millet, murmuring incantations at the same time; during this time the others kneel down. After this everyone plants his Calamus under the sacred tree. On the following day [240] the young men again ring the bell and all the inhabitants, dressed in their holiday attire, assemble in the house of the chieftain. The oldest man in the village and the chieftain then sing a song in praise of the ancestral spirits. After this, all the participants form a solemn procession and march to the hut of the unmarried men where they dance around a fire. On the last day of the festival a banquet and a drinking bout are held.

In Polysia, the festival in honor of the ancestral spirits is somewhat different. On the first day there is a race for the boys, and the victor is given a red flat. On the second day the people assemble in the chieftain's house. There they knead viscous rice with their hands in a solemn fashion and give it the shape of a fish; the chieftain then cuts off the head and tail of the fish and distributes the body among those present. He puts the head and tail in a basket which he attaches to a bundle of Calamus. [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] After that he leads the people to the sacred tree; everyone carries a single Calamus reed. A huge stone lies under the tree.* Then the rites connected

* In the mythology of the natives, a huge stone under a tree is connected with the origin of headhunting. They say that this stone once split in half and a woman arose from it. The children of this woman had a feud which was arbitrated by an ordeal. He was to be the victor who would kill the greatest number of bears on a bear-hunting expedition. Later, when the Chinese came to this island and their strength and knowledge was compared to that of bears, the Chinese became the objects of the hunt.

with the offering begin. The young men present their Calamus to the chieftain and then turn around. The chieftain places his own offering of Calamus and rice and that of the others on the sacred stone, murmuring incantations at the same time. Then he pushes

his spear into the lower part of the tree trunk, and at the same time all the young men run home with loud shouts. On the third day of the festival, they hunt for stags. They make an offering of the stag, or, if they have not been successful, of a pig, to the spirits of their ancestors. The fourth and last day of the festival is a gay one: the people eat, drink, and dance as long as they can.

19: Guérin and Bernard--563 G-3 (ca. 1866) 1868 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 273, 796

The aborigines celebrate three annual feasts which correspond to the sowing or harvesting of rice, millet and chickweed. The Tayal call them by the picturesque name of work of the cups. As a matter of fact, there is a great deal of drinking, and according to a custom which is fraternal rather than convenient, people drink two by two out of the same vessel. There is some preliminary hunting, so the natives always have an ample supply of venison. The guests get drunk, fight, and then when the ceremony is over, they limber up their muscles in a hunt.

21: Asai--4-5 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 769, 796

"A special ceremony takes place just after the harvest. In such ceremonies, wine and foods are offered to the souls of the ancestors, who live in the land of the dead. The people chant [5] ceremonial songs to make the souls come to the village. The dances last sometimes 24 hours in one week successively in Saisiyat. This is called the period of pastaai. The people bring rice and cooking utensils. The festival usually takes place in November. Through Chinese influence, there are sometimes two festivals, spring and autumn."

34: Del Re--30-33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 825 Yami

"The Flying-Fish Festival is not only the central event of the Yami year but the whole of the communal life of the tribe revolves around it. Not without reason, indeed, since these fish not only constitute their most valued article [pages 31 and 32 contain illustrations] [33] of food, but are regarded as symbols of the tribal spirit."

34: Del Re--33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosans Aborigines
116, 796, 805, 622, 756, 226 Yami

"The ceremony of 'calling' the flying-fish opens the year which begins, according to the Yami system, in April corresponding, in the solar calendar, to October. It is accompanied by most elaborate ritual observances the purpose of which is to secure a good season and to celebrate the arrival of the fish. On this occasion the tribe annually chooses the man whom it considered best fitted to exercise the role of high priest and to represent it. It may be noted in passing that, contrary to what occurs in other tribes, the Yami have no medicine-women, all ritual observances being restricted to men alone."

34: Del Re--34-37 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 221, 226, 241, 796 Yami

"In the Yami calendar the months of May, June and July (i. e. November, December and January) are almost wholly given up to catching flying-fish, the greater part of which are dried. The fishing is done by night, from small canoes and in large ones during the first two months, but, on the third, only by day. During the fourth month however, fishing by night and by day and with small canoes is permitted. Meanwhile the womenfolk collect the fibrous bark of certain shrubs, mainly the abaka, which they dye, spin and weave on primitive handlooms into cloth with admirably decorative designs in colour. When the flying-fish season is over, and during the months of August and September (February, March) the crops of tarô and suli are gathered in and the fields worked over. October (April) is the month set aside specially for the making of the earthenware dishes and pots used in the flying-fish ceremony. During November (May) they finish eating their store of dried flying-fish, while December (June) is mainly devoted to preparing the lime the savages chew with their betel-nuts, used for both medical and dyeing purposes. In January (July) they cut down the onigaya (misacanthus) out of which they fashion torches for the flying-fish ceremony, and celebrate the mil- [pages 35 and 36 contain illustrations] [37] let harvest. Millet, suli and tarô are sown in February (August), while March (September) is principally given up to catching mamibiki, a largish flat fish which is found in considerable quantities in these waters."

34: Del Re--37-38 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 621, 626, 796 Yami

"In concluding these remarks it should be stressed that while each individual must contribute by his work to the welfare of the community, he is otherwise free to join or not as he pleases in the communal life without exposing himself to criticism or censure except, of course, during the flying-fish festival where failure to comply with the tribal customs would not only involve him but the whole [38] community in the direst misfortunes."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines

Yami

THE FLYING FISH CEREMONY (*Native Drawing*): Note decorated communal canoe and silver helmets

796
532

34: Del Re--47 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan-Aborigines
823, 796

"It seems that the natives, believing that large fish cause storms, instituted an annual ceremony of pacification in which only youths and girls take part, since the original couple changed into fish were also young."

34: Del Re U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
651, 796 Yami

[MLB: The caption below the photograph on p. 17 states that on ceremonial occasions such as weddings, a tax is levied on the villagers in the form of a large iron basin.]

49: Wei E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Paiwan

of five to twelve houses. Chinimoan had 55 houses and Pinaiwanan 101. The cultivated fields around the village were possessed by the aristocratic households (*usam na mamatsayiran*) of both the Chimo and the Paiwan. By annexing and transition of these fields, their state of possession had become rather complicated. The distribution of aristocratic households had also become rather complicated too. The village had 12 aristocratic households, 9 of them belonged to the Chimo. Among them was the *ruvanian* household which was of the highest rank. The *ruvanian* also in charge of the *satsilapan* household which was saved as a village temple in time of our investigation. These two households were both situated on the upper part of Chinimoan. The other 8 Chimo aristocratic households were equally distributed in the two hamlets. The *tfaluŋi*, the *matsiliat*, the *gumul*, and the *voto* were in Chinimoan, while the south *tfalas*, the north *tfalas*, the *tarapatea*, and the *tfalusaŋiu* were in Pinaiwanan. Two of the Paiwan aristocratic households, the *lusiguan* and the *alijulan* were in *Pinaiwanan*, and the *atsinajan* was in southeast end of Chinimoan. From the distribution of those households, therefore, we may say that the significance of the distinction of Chinimoan and Pinaiwanan has been lost. But by their possession of hunting grounds (*aluliapan*), the existence of dual organization in the early days has been revealed. The village had 6 localities of hunting grounds, two lay south and east of the village, *pasulaval* and *vuit*, and belonged to the Chimo chiefs, four lay in west and north and belonged to the Paiwan chiefs. At the time of investigation, *alulialiav* and *pasulaots* belonged to the *lusiguan* household; *patsavatsavan*, south *tfalas*; *pasupaots*, north *tfalas*. The latter two may have been annexed by the Chimo. The fishing grounds were similar in condition to hunting grounds. The Lai-i River (or the *pasulaval* river as it is called by the natives) was the fishing grounds of the Chimo. Most of the lower part belonged to the *atsinajan*, *lusiguan*, north *tfalas*, *gumul*, *tara'atea* and the south *tfalas* respectively. The tributary of the Lai-i River, which is called *pasuivelin* by the natives, was originally the fishing grounds of the Paiwan but it was then divided into two parts and is owned by the *atsinajan* and the north *tfalas*. The Chimo though they predominated over the Paiwan in hunting grounds, and equalled the Paiwan in fishing grounds, had less influence on aspects of religious and ritual. *Para'aree*, the priest of the most important religion rite *malɔvo*, the five-years-feast, was a member of the *atsinajan* household of the Paiwan. The ceremonies of *malɔvo* was initiated in the *lusiguan* and *atsinajan* of the Paiwan and then performed in Chimo households. Two of the three *puliŋao* or priestesses who sang songs for inviting gods were Paiwan. But the *pusao* or the six-years-feast was performed by the Chimo priest and priestesses. The *para'aree* and *puliŋao* of these two groups have acquired their techniques from their own group. This teaching had been kept secret from each other.

By the above mentioned facts, we may assume that the Paiwan are the natives and the Chimo came later. The Chimo though predominated over the Paiwan in economic and political power, but the Paiwan have maintained their position in religious life.

58: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4
Atayal

descendants of the sixth generation counting from him. It is said that about 80 years ago, *ufi* lived originally in Shih-t'an Hsiang. It was his son *layao-ufi* that moved to Hu-shan. *layao-ufi* had a daughter *qojo-layao* and a son *βaitso-layao*. *qojo-layao* married *taimo-layao*, the grandfather of *joqex-etex*. *βaitso-layao*, the younger brother of *qojo-layao*, had entered *camil maililax* because he was brought up in his sister's husband's family which belonged to *camil məililax*. This case indicates that a *camil* member may not be cansanguinity, A *camil* may include members from other *camil*. Thus *tapilas* is a local social group which is interwoven by the above mentioned k groups.

III. HEAD-HUNTING

Though the Atayal has been famous for their old custom of headhunting, the *Tsəo²le²* Tribe which inhabits the regions closer to the plains occupied by the Han people, abandoned the custom earlier than other tribes. In *tapilas* and *paqali*, only a few persons have had experience of head-hunting. The *fiaqalo* Atayal kept the custom until more recent time because they had lived formerly in a more remote regions known as *jaβayan* and *loxqax*. They were coerced by the Japanese to move into this region. The following accounts were given by *joqex-etex* and *taqun-nomin* (70 years of age, he had moved from *loxqax* of *fiaqalo*). In the following descriptions when the custom of these two villages do not accord with each other, (m) indicates that of the former, and (s) that of the latter.

1. Reasons for undertaking a head-hunting expedition

Head-hunting in Atayal is called *mə-qaqa*. It means "to observe the old tradition". According to the motive of the expedition, it may be divided into the following three kinds: (1) for blood vengeance; (2) for military achievement; and (3) for settling dispute. The former two are called *məqetsβo*(m) or *məfiβo*(s), which means "hunting"; the last one is called *məqulaqam*(m) or *²əmələs no qoaq*(s), which means "settling dispute". The former two kinds are employed to venge oneself against the member of another tribe or sometimes one's own tribe; the latter kind undertaken to settle a quarrel between kinsmen. The result of the headhunting expedition, whether it has succeeded or failed, is regarded as the judgement on the case shown by the wishes of their ancestral spirits; therefore the quarrel could be thus settled. It is for this reason that they must carry with them a *tsineto*(s) or *tenato*(m) or a guardian bag.

2. The organization of a hunting expedition

To organize a head-hunting expedition permission must be securred from the Chief. An expedition may consist of two or three or as many as seventy persons. In *tapilas*, participants, as a rule, are enlisted from the same *camil*, though sometimes members of a friendly *camil* may also join them. The participants elect their own *paqa-lain* or leader. The leader is to hold ceremonies and to command attacks.

3. Oath and New fire

After the expedition has been organized, all participants assemble in a certain

50: Ruey E-5 (1955) 1955 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines
Atayal AD4

721 place to take an oath for starting their hunting trip. *joqex-etex* said that on this
• 786 occasion, the leader stood in front of all participants, with a wooden-spoon [*sasowai*] in his right hand and with a torch made of palm-fibre in his left hand, he prayed to their ancestor-spirits: "I hold this ceremony according to the old tradition of our tribe. This spoon and torch have been transmitted to us from our ancestors because they represent good fortune. Drinking this water in the spoon and lighted by this torch, we shall have good luck." After this, each participant moistened his right hand in the spoon and sucked it with his lips. Then, the torch was lighted. The ignition was by flint and steel. This fire had to be divided among the participants to light a new fire in their own houses. *taqun-nomin* said that the condition of the ignition revealed omens of the expedition.

4. Taboo after the new fire

721 After the new fire had been lighted, many kinds of taboo had to be observed.
784 The more important ones were: (1) prohibition from extinguishing the kitchen fire; (2)
791 prohibition from weaving (this taboo must be observed by all families of the same *qotox litan*(s) or hunting group. Other hunting groups though may be released from this taboo, but the warp beam must be filled up with cloth fragments to prevent its making a sound when weaving.); (3) prohibition from intercourse and exchange of gift with the family which is quarrelling with the other family; (4) prohibition for holding a ceremony; (5) prohibition to make a noise; (6) prohibition to steal; (7) prohibition to commit adultery (this is applied to families of the same hunting group).

5. Costumes and foods

721 The leader and other participants of the expedition dressed according to their
[26] regulation, and brought weapons, bags for transporting the hunted heads, and ear-
721 ornaments to be used in time of returning in triumph with them. Foods prepared to be consumed for the expedition were salt, millet-cakes, ginger, etc.

6. Dream divination

787 In the evening before the expedition is to start, they seek for dream omens which are called *mital sapijil*(n) or *mata spi*(s). If most of the participants have bad dream, the expedition will be postponed or cancelled.

7. Bird divination

If a good omen is gotten from the dream, two or three members of the expedition will be sent out early in the morning to hear the chirping of a kind of bird called *siljeq*. If an evil omen is gotten, the expedition must stay over night at the place where the bird divination had taken place, and will have another divination the following morning. If again an evil omen is gotten, they will cancel the trip.

8. Calling the souls of the enemy

721 If a good omen is revealed by the bird divination, the expedition will start on its
788 way. The first thing they must do after they have reached the destination is to hold a ceremony for calling the souls of their enemies to come, which is called *somilai*. In the ceremony the leader has camphor leaves in his hands, he points these in the direction

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

surviving example of their original type of dwelling.

The *kikita;n* managed the religious ceremonies, which were entirely concerned with the staple crops, millet and rice. The following were the more important agricultural rituals:

misauma	millet-sowing
mikolas	millet-weeding
mihavai	millet-harvest
misapanai	rice-sowing
mi?ot?ot	rice-weeding
mibanai	rice-harvest
irisiŋ	New Year, following termination of *mihavai* in mid-September

We will describe the *irisiŋ* and the function of the *kakita;n* during this rite in a later section.

Age-grades

We will describe the Tavarong Ami age-grading system in detail for two reasons, firstly, because some inaccuracies about this system have appeared in the literature, and secondly, because age-grading is at the heart of the Ami social structure.

The Ami age-grade system has been discussed by Ino (1910 and 1912), Koizumi (1928), Okada (1932a and 1932b), Kamura (1939:259–277), Furuno (1945:285–320), and others. Okada describes Ami age-grading as follows:

> The age-grade systems of the tribe may be separated into two forms: those consisting of three class divisions—childhood, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Nan-shih, Hsiu-ku-luan, and Hai-an groups); and those consisting of four class divisions—childhood, youth in the prepartory stage, youth, and manhood with old age (found among the Pei-nan and Heng-ch'un groups). The Ami age-grade systems may also be classified according to names above the youth class into three types: 1) those having a limited group of names which are cyclically used, 2) those in which names are assigned to all new grades, and 3) those which combine the previous two types. (Okada 1939: 14).

Okada has pointed out that the Nan-shih group and Vataan of the Hsiu-ku-luan group belong to the first classification; the Pei-nan, Hai-an, and Heng-ch'un groups and Tavarong of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the second; and Kiwit of the Hsiu-ku-luan group to the third classification.

Wei in a recent article (1953) only recorded two types based on the assignment of names to age-grades. He names the first type of Okada as the "Nan-shih type" and the second as the "Ma-lan type". Okada's third type which is represented by Kiwit is classified by Wei under the "Nan-shih type". Wei also stated that

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

participates in the *misuḷar*, the initiation rite, and becomes a member of the first grade. Since the initiation rite is held only once every five years in the *saḷuratan*, the assembly hall, two or three days before the *irisiŋ*, there is some range of ages at which boys are initiated. On the day of the *misuḷar* all the old grades are promoted, although their grade names remain unchanged. A member of the Rariwas grade, for instance, remains so throughout life. Vudai-Katɛ reported that the interval between initiation rites was longer in the ancient days, and that it was reduced because of the increasing village population which has resulted in the increase of members in each grade.[9] Each grade has its monitor, callad *komol no surar*. Persons showing abilities for leadership will become monitors by common assent. Wei (1953) states:

> Leadership within each grade is determined by seniority as well as by ability. When a grade is formed, one of them will be chosen to be the nominal leader on the basis of seniority. At the same time, two or three others can establish their leadership by their abilities, achievements, and wealth. They participate in the activities of the organization when the grade itself is still in the preparatory stage, to show their capacities and win support from their fellow grade-members.

Our information, however, indicates that in Tavarong there is only one leader in each grade, and he is chosen for his abilities.

The irisiŋ

We have already referred to the *irisiŋ* as one of the great Ami agricultural rituals. Furuno (1945:101–103) has described the *irisiŋ*, which was the Ami New Year. After the millet-harvesting rite, there was a lull in the life of Tavarong. Since there was little to do, the townsmen repaired their houses. On the first full moon following the house repairs, the *irisiŋ* commenced. It was the most important ritual of the year. The *irisiŋ* was managed by the *kakita:n* family. One female and one male member of the family were leaders of the ritual. The female member was always the head of the family, and the male was her brother.

Saumah-Kuriu, the head of the remaining *kakita:n* family of Tavarong, had three siblings; Namo?-Kuras[10] (male), ŋadai-Kuriu (female), and Riŋa-Kuriu (female). In the Tavarong *irisiŋ*, Saumah and her brother Namo? were the leaders. The ceremonial procedures followed about thirty years ago were described by informants Vuei-Mayau, Rata-Namo? (Saumah's husband), and Vudai-Katɛ, and are given in the paragraphs which follow.

One week before the start of the ritual, all the siblings of Saumah returned to the family house and began the observation of the taboo on eating fish and

9. The period of years between initiation rites varies in different Ami villages. Nataoran, Pokpok, and Ridau hold a *misuḷar* every seven years, Kiwit and Malan every three years.
10. This name is given as Namo?- Kuriu in *Taihoku Teikoku Daigaku, Jinshugaku Kenkyushitsu* [1935:chart 275].

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

796 vegetables. On the evening of the sixth day of the fast, Saumah ascended the roof of her own house and shouted "auuuu ···· !" to inform the villagers to start preparations for the ritual. This act is termed ***misamsam***. In the evening of the following day, Saumah repeated this performance, but in this case it was to inform her several related families. This phase is termed ***misatamuru***. The evening of the eighth day of the fast, Saumah again ascended her roof and shouted "patanam kita·····!" Then, following this, Namo? went out to visit the related families.

The next day was the first day of the *irisiŋ*. That morning, all the chiefs (*saparaŋau*) of Tavarong gathered in the *kakita:n* ceremonial house. Members of the senior grades who had performed unusual services for the tribesmen could be chiefs if they were recognized by other chiefs and by the monitors of all grades. In those days, there were about ten chiefs in the town. Wine, rice-cakes, chickens, and a pig were then offered to the gods in the ceremonial house. About twenty youths of the town were called to the *kakita:n* house and then dispatched to the neighboring villages to spread the word that the *irisiŋ* had begun. Each youth took with him a bottle of wine which he presented to the *saparaŋau* of the village he visited. The chief who received the wine gave back a bottle in return; the youth brought this back to Tavarong and presented it to his *saparaŋau* and to the gods. The wine was then divided between the *saparaŋau* and the youths. Then, the youths left the house and danced in the courtyard; the chiefs remained inside the ceremonial house the whole night.

On the second day of the ritual, the youths of the town gathered and danced in front of the *kakita:n* house. The *saparaŋau* addressed the monitors of all fifteen grades inside the *kakita:n* house, the contents of their speeches being a survey of the results of the past year and admonitions to work hard and behave well in the future.

On the third day, age-grade members assembled in the houses of their own grade monitors and danced in the courtyards. The monitors repeated the addresses of the *saparaŋau* and urged the grade members to respect their elders and be on good behavior in the coming year.

The fourth day, representatives were sent by each age grade to the monitors of the elder grades to hear precepts from them. They retold these precepts to their own grade members on their return.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of the fifth day, all fifteen grades gathered in front of the *kakita:n* house. They first danced in the courtyard, then gathered before the *saparaŋau;* there they washed their hands in wine brought in by Namo?-Kuras this action removing evil and providing blessings. Saumah-Kuriu then entered the ceremonial house with two or three packs of betel nuts, which she put on a table. After a blessing was pronounced over them by Saumah, they were distributed to all the attending grade members. The meeting was then dismissed. It was considered a happy omen to have a good dream that night.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

On the sixth day, all grade members gathered once more in front of the *kaʻita:n* house. At this time all the *šikawasai* (shamans) of the town came to the house and performed rites to ward off disease from the attending celebrants. Then, the *šikawasai* danced together, while the others went out to their own fields to perform a ceremony of mimical cultivation to guarantee a good harvest in the year to come.

The final day of the *irisiŋ*, all the inhabitants of Tavarong went to fish in the streams and rivers. Each individual offered one fish to the gods to inform them that the New Year had commenced. After the celebrants returned to the town, the fish were offered to the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods; the offering was then divided up among the populace and eaten, thus breaking the taboo on fish and vegetables. This concluded the *irisiŋ*.

Conclusions

In our examination of Ami religion, we found that at least in part Ami society can be considered as a theocracy. The *kakita:n*, the hereditary priests, combined in their persons both temporal and spiritual power. The priestly house served as the ceremonial and political center of the tribesmen and may bear some theoretical importance as a possible prototype of the village-temple.

Shamans and priests are clearly distinguished among the Ami. The former succeeded by reincarnation, and the latter through inheritance. Ami shamanism [this was still true in 1953] in typically Asiatic, in that its practitioners are emotionally unstable individuals who derive their power from direct contact with the spiritual world; this contact is made at times of the greatest physical strain [chronic illness]. Ami shamanism is also of a non-Arctic type, since the neophyte is indoctrinated with the shamanistic techniques, instead of receiving them through spiritual experiences of a personal, charismatic nature. The shamans practice a complex and typically Indonesian type of divination.

As with many other peoples of the Indonesian culture area, no sharp distinction is made by the Ami between gods, spirits, and souls, which are all designated by the generic term *kawas*. However, the Ami are atypical among the Formosan tribes in that they possess a relatively highly developed genealogical mythology or theogony. The possible relation between this theogony and Ami social structure is worthy of future study. It may be of significance, for instance, that in this matrilineal society the sun is a female goddess, and the moon male. This spiritual world provides the power and justification for all Ami religious activities, being beseeched with prayers and bribed with offerings.

The *irisiŋ*, the great New Year ceremony which was described in detail, is functionally a world renewal ritual, the renewal of the powers of the stream and soil and, in fact, a renewal of the whole society. In this, the population was

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formōsa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

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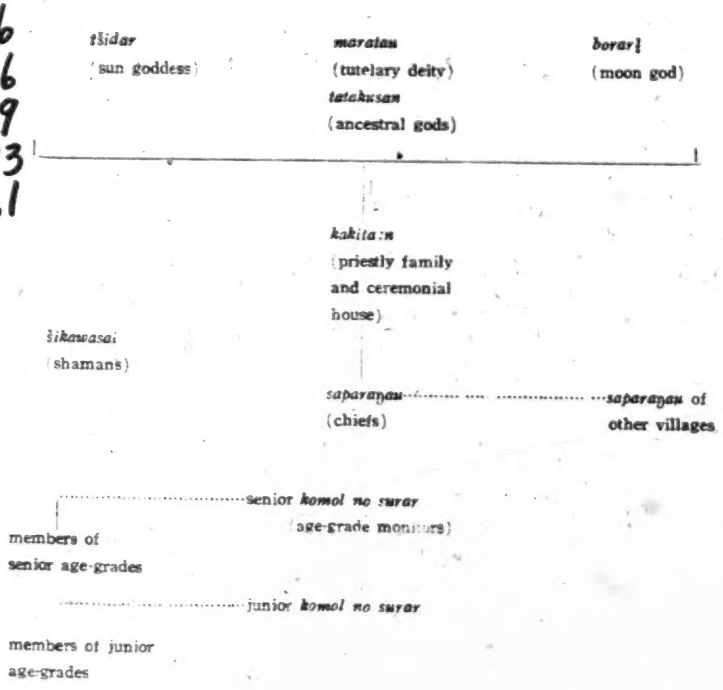

Figure 2: the Ami hierarchy at *irisiŋ*

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulsion of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries bstween the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*. leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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